Pamphlets Vol. 102. (1)

THE
Reſignation Diſcuſſed.

In which many of the

Falſe Facts are detected,
AND
Sophiſtical Reaſonings refuted;

In a PAMPHLET, intitled,

An APOLOGY *for a late* RESIGNATION, *&c.*

In a LETTER *to a* FRIEND *in the Country.*

Non facile de innocente crimen fingitur.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for J. ROBERTS, at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane.* MDCCXLVIII.

Pamphlets Vol. 103

THE

Reſignation Diſcuſs'd, &c.

THE Pamphlet, you have been ſo very deſirous of ſeeing, I ſent you two Poſts ago, and am now going to comply with the latter Part of your Requeſt, in giving you my Senſe of it plainly, and without prejudice. I am the more capable of doing this, becauſe partly from a natural turn of Mind, and partly from a ſincere and unaffected Love for my Country, I have been no careleſs Spectator of publick Affairs, but have taken as much Pains to underſtand them, as a private Man could do, who has no Connections with any Party, no Obligations to any Miniſtry, and no Reſentments againſt any Man who

either *aims* at, or has *fallen* from Greatneſs. What therefore I write you, will be entirely agreeable to Truth, or at leaſt, agreeable to the Lights that enable me to diſtinguiſh Truth, or what ſeems moſt to reſemble it; for I can ſafely affirm, that I have taken all the Care poſſible, not to be deceived myſelf, and I can with equal Safety aſſert, that there is nothing in Nature farther from my Intention, than to deceive you.

In its *Title*, and outward Appearance, this Piece wears the Face of a *Juſtification* of the *Conduct* of a *noble Perſon*, in coming in, acting with, and at length leaving *the Miniſtry*. But whoever reads it, attentively, will very eaſily preceive, that tho' the Author perſonates a *Dependant* upon that noble Lord, and writes as if he was moved only by Zeal for his Patron's Cauſe, and Affection for his Perſon, yet at the Bottom, there is quite another Deſign, and he is very far from having really any ſuch Zeal, or Affection. You have by this Time read the Piece, I dare ſay, more than once, and from the Knowledge you have of that *Character*, in defence of which it is ſuppoſed to be written, you cannot but agree with me, that it is very *ill drawn*, made

made up of the ſtrangeſt *Inconſiſtences*, and charged with that *Cunning* and *Diſingenuity* in publick Behaviour, which is the *fartheſt* in the World from his *Diſpoſition*, and therefore, it is not at all to be wondered, if he has clearly and publickly *diſavowed it*. But the RESIGNATION was an Event that made ſome Noiſe, and therefore it was the Intereſt of a certain *Sett* of *Men*, to give ſuch a *Turn* to that, as they do to every *other* Event, as might ſerve to encreaſe *publick Diſcontent*, raiſe a *Ferment* in the Nation, and anſwer their Ends in rendering thoſe *odious*, whom they *hate* beyond Meaſure, and whom to *ſupplant* they leave no Method untryed, and think all Practices fair and juſt, that have a Likelihood of ſerving this End.

This, Sir, is the Light in which I conſider the Performance now before us, and I am led ſo to conſider it from all the Facts, all the Inferences, and all the Reaſonings contained therein, and when you maturely conſider them, and have taken the Pains to weigh and compare them, I am perſwaded you will be of my Opinion. At the very Entrance, the Author ſeems to juſtify the *political Sentiments* of thoſe who were *taken into* the Adminiſtration,

by what he calls the *Broad Bottom* Treaty, at the Close of the Year 1744. I say, he *seems* to justify their Sentiments, for he never speaks *clearly* or *distinctly*, either on that, or on any other Head, and the plain Reason of this is, because he is unwilling to *own*, that if the political Sentiments of these People were *just*, the Administration were in the *Right* to court them to come in, and to join with them in promoting Measures that were agreeable to the Constitution, and fittest for the publick Service.

Here, Sir, give me Leave to observe, that if this Man was sincerely an *Advocate* for the *noble Person*, whose Cause he pretends to espouse, he ought to have been as explicit as possible, he ought to have shewn what the *Principles* were of this noble Lord and his Friends, before they were *taken in*, and how the Views on which they acted were to be *pursued* and *promoted*. All this is huddled up in a dark and ambiguous Manner of Expression, which, to use his own Phrase amounts to no more, than that they were admitted to a Share of Power, in order to drive out the *common Enemy*. This surely, is a very harsh Term, and if it be in any degree proper, it must certainly mean, that the Schemes

of

of the *Perſon* to whom it refers, were violent, dangerous, and utterly inconſiſtent with the publick Intereſt; otherwiſe to call a Man the *Common Enemy*, would not only be the higheſt *perſonal Abuſe*, but the moſt abandon'd *Sacrifice* of *Truth* that ever was made. If therefore there be any degree of Knowledge, Veracity, or Reſpect to the publick Good, in this Writer, he muſt be as well ſatisfied that thoſe in the Adminiſtration, who refuſed to go on with that Man, were as much in the Right, in that Meaſure, as thoſe that had publickly *oppoſed him*, while in Power, and thought it reaſonable and juſt to *concur* with the Adminiſtration in keeping him *out* of *Power*; that is, out of a Capacity of Sacrificing his *Country's Intereſt* to his *Ambition*, and being thereby an Inſtrument of *publick Miſchief*.

When I ſay this, I preſume you will *perceive* that it is in order to *follow* this Author in his *own* Road, and that I may *argue* with him upon the very *few* Principles that he admits. For if this was not the Caſe, I ſhould be the laſt Man in the World to *uſe* ſo *foul* an Expreſſion, as that by which he points out, a *great Man* once at the *Head* of the *Miniſtry* ſince the *War* began, a Man of *real* Talents and *indiſputable* Abilities, and who very

very poſſibly might *Act* in his Sphere of Politicks with a very *upright Intention*, but the *Vivacity* of whoſe *Genus*, and the particular *turn* in whoſe Conduct made it *impoſſible* for thoſe to act *with him*, who knew the *real State* of this Nation, and how *impracticable* it was to furniſh the *Means* for aſſembling the *mighty Forces* capable of making thoſe *Impreſſions*, and opening a Door to thoſe *Conqueſts* that were to be the *Baſis* of a *Plan* of *Power*, wiſe and rational enough in itſelf, if it could have been *poſſibly accompliſh'd*. To prevent an exceſſive *Expence* to no Purpoſe, the *fruitleſs Flow* of *Britiſh* Blood and Treaſure, which the very *Preparatives* for the *Execution* of theſe *Schemes* require, and ſtopping that wild *Waſte* of our *Wealth*, which had been ſo wantonly made with very little Effect, were the *Grounds* why ſome *oppoſed* this great Man *without* Doors, why others *differed* from him *within*, and why the *former* were courted to a *Coalition*, upon a Suppoſition that they were *ſincere* in their *Sentiments*, that they would *act* as they *talked*, both with reſpect to *War* and *Peace*; and in this Caſe, their having a *Share* of *Power*, was at once a Proof of the *good Faith* of the *Miniſtry*, and an *Inſtrument* put into the Hands of the *Patriots*, that they might

ſhow

ſhow they could *ſerve* the *Intereſts* of their *Country*, as well as *ſpeak* for them. After declaring thus, that I am obliged to *repeat* that *Abuſe*, which I by no Means *approve*. I ſhall reſume the *Thread* of this Diſcourſe.

In the next Place, he gives us a ſtrange ſort of Account, of the *Conduct* of the *noble Perſon* at his coming in, and by a Train of Inſinuations, irreconcileable to common Senſe, would repreſent it as highly *laudable* in his Lordſhip to *accept* of an *Employment*, tho' he knew himſelf *diſagreeable* to his M—ſt—r, and yet highly *criminal* in thoſe who *brought* him into that Employment, tho' he had juſt before acknowledged in effect, that they had taken this Step upon very *juſt* and *laudable* Motives, which were the preventing the farther purſuit of *wrong* and *ruinous* Meaſures, till their Effects had rendered them *irreparable*. He was forced to this as well as to all the other Abſurdities that run through the whole Piece, by deſiring to preſerve *Appearances* which at the ſame Time were inconſiſtent with the *End* of his Writing. He was bound by the Title and Scheme of his Work, to pay a *ſeeming Regard*, to a *Character* he had been pleaſed to bring upon the *Stage*, but at the ſame Time he omits

omits no Opportunity of blackening others, which was his principal *Aim* in bringing it on the *Stage*, and it is viſibly from his acting this *double Part* that he was conſtrained both here and almoſt every where elſe, to repreſent the *ſame Meaſure* as both *wrong* and *right* at the *ſame Time*.

The Story of the noble Perſon's Negociation in *Holland*, is wild, inconſiſtent, and ridiculous, to the higheſt Degree. If you will believe this Writer, he went thither with a ſettled Purpoſe to *Sacrifice* his *own* Character as an *able* Stateſman *abroad*, that he might ſerve the Purpoſes of his *new Friends* at *Home*. Was there ever any Thing ſo extravagant or ſo incredible? Nothing certainly but in the pretended Difficulty of engaging the —— to *truſt* a Man with a Commiſſion, who was the *moſt Popular* on one Side of the Water, and the *moſt Welcome* on the other; ſo that in plain Engliſh, he was unwilling to *ſend* him, becauſe he was of all others the *fitteſt* to be ſent. A mighty Compliment to his M —— truly! The very next Paragraph is big with another Inconſiſtency, for after beſtowing ſome of the *vileſt* Appellations our Language can furniſh upon the *D — h*, as the *real* Sentiments of this noble Perſon, who in a *Memorial*

rial of his, publiſh'd to all *Europe*, about this Time, declared in the moſt *ſolemn* Manner, he had a quite *different* Opinion of them; the Author proceeds to ſhew them what? Why, that the noble Perſon inſtead of *doing nothing*, inſtead of following his *firſt* Plan, and contriving by the Series of his Negociation to ſhew that the *D — h* had *done nothing*, nor would *ever* do *any Thing*, he brought them *to do all*, and even *more* than could be *expected* from them. And immediately after this, he is repreſented as having a right to quarrel with his *new Friends*, becauſe they did not make a proper Uſe of the *original Scheme*, which he had concerted and executed; becauſe they did not repreſent the Inactivity, Inflexibility, and inexcuſable Conduct of the *D — h* in *certain Places*, in a proper Light. One would think this Man was *Mad*, or believed his Readers ſo, does he not immediately before tell us, that this noble Negociator had by his great Skill and Addreſs procured the *Dutch* to do *many* Things, and would he after his Return inſiſt, that the *Miniſtry* at *Home* ſhould tell a barefac'd Falſehood, inſiſt that the *D — h* would do *nothing*, and ſtrip him of the *Merit* of that *Negociation*, upon which, all who knew any Thing, knew that at

that

that Time his Friends plumed themſelves exceedingly? What can *one* ſay to all this? But that it is as *fooliſh* as it is *falſe*, that it refutes itſelf, and that at one and the ſame Time it is as *injurous* to the *noble Perſon*, whoſe *Apology* it is pretended to be, as to the *great Men* whoſe *Accuſation*, tho' groundleſs and unfounded, it *really is*.

But what follows next, is of a Peace with this, or if poſſible exceeds it; exceeds it in Folly, and Contradiction, as well as in the *Notoriety* of the *Falſhood*. It is aſſerted, that upon his Return to put a *Stop* to his Lordſhip's *Remonſtrances*, he was ſent *out* of the *Way* to *I——d*. Now not to inſiſt on the Improbability of his making any *ſuch* Remonſtrances, when by the *great Turn* given to publick Affairs by the *Election* of the E—p—r, there was *leſs* Ground for ſuch Remonſtrances as he is ſuppoſed to have made than *ever*; there is nothing *more certain* in itſelf, or *better known* ſo to be, than that his Lordſhip's going to *I——d* was a Thing ſettled, and ſettled at his own Requeſt, before he went to *H——d*; what can one think of a Man's *Knowledge*, or Intelligence, who pretends to write upon ſuch a Subject, with ſuch a total *Ignorance* of the Facts about

about which he writes? or what Notion muſt one form of his *Candour* and *Integrity*, if we ſuppoſe him to *know* what he might ſo eaſily know, and yet find him capable of altering a Fact directly *contrary* to his *Knowledge*. Take it which Way you will, it is equally deſtructive of his *Credit*, and ſubverts intirely the *Deſign* of his *Performance*, if it be held in the Light of an *Apology*.

But then, Sir, conſider it with reſpect to the *good Cauſe*, and examine it as it ſtands related to his *real Deſign*, that of accuſing and blackening *thoſe* who are *ſtill* in the *Adminiſtration*. What a ſtrange Appearance does it make in this Light? How clearly does it prove, the real *want* of *Matter*, and the abſolute *deficiency* of *Proofs*, when People are forced to have recourſe not only to Miſrepreſentations, to Exaggerations, to every Species and Kind of Artifice, that ever was, or can be invented, and finding all theſe fail them, are driven to the dreadful Neceſſity of *forging Facts*, and of confidently affirming *ſelf evident Falſehoods*, that they may not want the *Appearance* of a *Charge*, and the *Colour* of *Evidence*. To ſuppoſe that the noble Perſon whoſe Name is ſo freely uſed from the

the *Title Page* to the *Concluſion* of this Piece could *lend* the *ſmalleſt Aſſiſtance*, furniſh the moſt *remote Hints*, or afford the moſt *diſtant Approbation*, to ſuch an *Outrage* upon his *own* Character would be to *libel* him even *more* than this Man has *done*, and it affords me a ſenſible Pleaſure, that I have an Opportunity of *convincing* you, that the *wild Reports* which have been ſpread on this *Head* are equally weak and wicked, and to have ſincerely *vindicated* this noble Perſon's Character, from the *Injuries* offered to it, in this *pretended Vindication.*

It is not eaſy to conceive to what End or Purpoſe ſo many ſtrange Reflexions are brought in upon the *Joy* expreſſed by a great *Miniſter* on our Conqueſt of *Cape Breton.* Was it ever held *criminal* before for any *Engliſhman*, much more for any *Engliſh Miniſter* to rejoice at his Country's *Succeſs?* And ſuppoſing even this Writer's Inſinuations *to be true*, and that the Iſland of *Cape Breton* was not a Thing of that Conſequence that it has been repreſented, could this Joy be interpreted any otherwiſe, than as a failing on the *right Side*, or does there breath a *Briton* of any Party ſo *baſe* as to *regret* that we became Maſ-

ters

ters of that *Place*, or *not* to *regret* that it may perhaps become *impracticable* to *keep it?* Was not this Conqueſt, a Conqueſt which of all others we had moſt Reaſon to be *pleaſed with*, was it not a Conqueſt made by the *People* of our *Colonies*, and by our *naval Force*? was it not a Conqueſt made from the *French?* is it not extremely detrimental to their Trade and Navigation? and can the repreſenting it in a *low* and *inſignificant*, or which is worſe, in a *ridiculous* Light, anſwer any one *good Purpoſe*, even if we ſhould be obliged to *give* it up again? Indulge me *one* Queſtion more upon this Head. Which of the *Britiſh* Miniſters do you think *poſterity* will allow to have ſhown *moſt* of a *Britiſh Spirit*, he who was ſo *ſanguine* in his *Joy* upon this *Conqueſt*, or he (if any ſuch Miniſter there be) that would repreſent it as a *Thing* not worth keeping, in order to *give it up*, and thereby loſe it, whatever its Value may be, with ſo bad a Grace, as that of parting with a Thing *not worth taking*.

The next great Meaſure that is brought into View, is a *certain Reſignation*, which the noble Perſon, is repreſented to conſider as an *Inſult* upon the — ; but how is it poſſible

poſſible that he ſhould conſider it in *this Light?* Did not this noble Perſon himſelf openly, heartily, and vigorouſly *oppoſe* the Perſon upon whoſe Account this *Reſignation* was made? Is not this very Perſon repreſented, ſcarce two Pages before, as an arrant *Don Quixot?* Is he not call'd a *wild* and *drunken* M——r? And was not this *Reſignation* calculated to prevent the Nation's being obliged to *make good* what this Writer calls his *wild* and *drunken Promiſes?* Did not this noble Perſon himſelf come *into Power*, as this very Writer ſtates it, to keep *out* this *common Enemy*; and was this *Reſignation* more an *Inſult* upon the —— than his *coming in*, if this Perſon ought to be really conſidered as a *common Enemy?* Did not another noble Perſon, his Lordſhip's Relation and Friend, *lead* the Way in this *Reſignation?* and was there any other Method *practicable* to *ſave* the Nation and to *ſerve* his M——, than this *very Method?* How is it poſſible then, that his Lordſhip could ever be in *ſuch* Sentiments as theſe, or with what Face can a Man publiſh to the World the *groſſeſt Miſrepreſentations* of this Nobleman's *Sentiments* as an *Apology* for his *Conduct?*

The

The Truth of the Matter is, that this Writer has been ſo much uſed in other *Company* upon other *Occaſions*, and to gratify the *Humours* of other *Perſons*, to treat *this Meaſure* in the *Light* he here treats it, that he did not reflect upon the *Abſurdity* of ſpeaking in this manner in a *Piece* which ought to have been written upon *different* Principles, if he had known, or attended to what he was writing. For if there be any *Truth*, any *Meaning*, or any *Senſe*, in the firſt Part of his Pamphlet, it manifeſtly overturns all *this*. The noble Lord he would be underſtood to make his *Hero*, if he acted as an honeſt Man, and a good Patriot before the *Coalition* did as much as any of theſe *Reſigners*. If he acted ſenſibly, rationally, and conſiſtently in *coming into* the Adminiſtration he did *more*; for undoubtedly a Man may with greater Propriety be ſaid to *inſult* his P— by forcing into his *Preſence* and *Councils* againſt his Inclination, than by *retiring* from them when he has *loſt* his *Favour*. Beſides, this does not only *contradict* the *Beginning*, and render the *Middle* of his Performance *ridiculous*, but the Miſchief and Folly of it extends to his very *Concluſion*. For if *all* Reſignations are *Inſults*, then the very

Reſignation for which he is an *Advocate* muſt have been *ſo*, and perhaps he really thought *this*, for otherwiſe what *need* of an *Apology*? Why did not he call his *Patchwork* of Stories, Anecdotes, and other Whimſies, the *Motives*, the *Reaſons*, or the *Grounds* of a *late Reſignation*. No, it muſt be an *Apology*, becauſe his true meaning was to repreſent *them* as *Criminals* who *ſtaid* in, and him as *not* very *innocent* who *went out*. This is the *Secret* of his *Book*; this is the *Secret* he awkwardly endeavours to *hide*, and yet in every *Paragraph* of it, this is the *Secret* that is *breaking out*.

From *one* Piece of *falſe Hiſtory* by a Tranſition very natural to this Writer he ſlides into *another*, and which is worſe, into another of the *very ſame ſort*. He had juſt been ſpeaking with the utmoſt Indignation of a Reſignation to *keep out* the *common Enemy*, and immediately after he repreſents another Reſignation, becauſe a noble Lord *could not agree* with his *Friends* as an Action becoming a *wiſe* and *honeſt Engliſhman*. Very ſtrange! that the very *ſame thing* ſhould be *vile* and *wicked* in *ſome Men*, and preſently after, *wiſe* and *honeſt* in *another*, though both

from

from his own ſhewing, built upon the very *ſame Principle*, that of quitting the —— *Service*, to prevent the Inconveniences that muſt enſue from a conſtant *Want* of *Harmony* amongſt his *Servants*. But let us for once take it in the Light he places it; let this latter Reſignation be as *right* as he pleaſes, indeed it is far from my Intention, to repreſent it as *wrong*; and then let us ſee what he will make of it; for if you wont *take* Facts as he is *pleaſed* to ſtate them, and admit his *new Logick* for an exact manner of *reaſoning*, there is no going on. Take it then I ſay as he puts it; and what *follows*, why the *very Perſons* with whom the noble Lord he hath been laſt ſpeaking of, had ſo very *wiſely* and *honeſtly* differed; *joined* moſt heartily in deſiring that *the Nobleman* whoſe *Defence* he is ſo kind as to *undertake* would *accept* the Place the other had *quitted*. This he agrees was a *right* Meaſure; theſe People, whom he would have to be always in the *wrong*, when one of the higheſt Poſts in the Kingdom became *vacant*, pitched upon the *fitteſt Perſon* in all Reſpects to *fill it*, and it was accordingly *ſo filled*. You will obſerve that I *ſuppoſe* all he delivers upon this Occaſion to be *true*, but am very far from *aſſerting* it; I ſuppoſe

it for the ſake of Argument only, and to ſhew what falſe Deductions he makes from his *own* Premiſſes, and am very far from pretending to ſuch *C—b—t Intelligence*, as to be able to ſay whether he is *right* or *wrong* in theſe *Facts*. All I know of the Matter is, that if he is *right*, and if his *Hero* was *right*, then the Miniſtry were certainly in the *right*; and ſo he ſays the Nation underſtood it, for they univerſally *applauded* this *Choice*. But how *this* noble Perſon's *accepting* a Place which *another* noble Perſon had acted like a *wiſe* and *honeſt* Engliſhman in *reſigning*, becauſe he was not in the *Secret* of his *own Office*: How, I ſay, this *other* noble Perſon could be ſo *exactly right*, in taking this Step, is not eaſy to be *underſtood*, and the reconciling the *Wiſdom* and *Honeſty* of the *Reſignation*, to the *Wiſdom* and *Honeſty* of the *Acceptation* upon this Writer's *Principles*, muſt, amongſt other inextricable Difficulties to Men of plain Parts, and common Senſe, be left to this Writer to *explain*.

I have, in the mean time, no manner of doubt upon me, that if we had the *real* and *genuine*, inſtead of the *falſe* and *romantick* Hiſtory of theſe *Meaſures*, they would

would appear perfectly wiſe and honeſt, or at leaſt very innocent and conſiſtent; all I aim at above, is to ſhew, that as he has repreſented them, they could not *be ſo*; for either, the *Reſignation* was not made for the Reaſons he aſſigns, or the *Acceptation* was upon improper Terms, or the *Conduct* of the *Accepter* was a *Reflection* on that of the *Reſigner*; and, as I believe, and am ſatisfied, the World believes that none of theſe Circumſtances happened, my Inference *is*, that his Story *cannot* be *true*; but that it is a mere Fardle of falſe Facts, groundleſs Inſinuations, and malicious Calumnies, invented to throw *Dirt* upon *all* the *Characters* that are mentioned, and to propagate a mean and bad Opinion of Proceedings at *C—t*, though, at the bottom, there is nothing in them, but what has happened, and will always happen in the beſt regulated *C—ts*, and by which the *Nation* in general, and the *publick Service* in particular, neither *did* or *could* ſuffer in the leaſt. Before I part with this Matter, give me Leave juſt to mention *one* Inconſiſtency more. He ſays, the Miniſters ſent the noble Lord to *I——d*, that they might be out of the Reach of his *Remonſtrances*; and now he tells us, that they ſent for him back again,

without Fear of his Remonſtrances at all. Which do you think of theſe Facts is *falſe*, for *both* cannot be *true?* For my own part I have no manner of doubt but they are *both falſe*. The noble Lord went to *Ireland*, becauſe he made it his *Choice* to go thither, and when he returned, he took the S——y's O— becauſe he thought it was for his *King* and *Country's* Service. This Account of the Matter will do very well for *true Hiſtory*, but as there is nothing in it dark, or clandeſtine, it would make no Figure in *ſecret Hiſtory* at all.

We have now a *new Scene* opened, but a Scene as full of Abſurdity, Contradiction, and Inconſiſtency as the former. The noble Perſon is affirmed to have come *into* his *new Office* with the ſame Diſpoſition that he came into the *old one*, that of promoting and concluding a Peace *at all Events*, and as ſoon as it was poſſible. But here again, he met with new Difficulties and new Diſappointments, for it ſeems, the next Spring Things wore a better Aſpect abroad, and thoſe weak, fickle, unſteady Miniſters, who were not *abſolutely bent* upon *War* or *Peace*, but inclined to *either*, according as it ſeemed to make *moſt* for the *Good* of their *Coun-*

try

try, were content to try what the Fruits might be of *another* Campaign. This was in the Spring of the Year 1746, and, as this Writer is pleaſed to tell us, the noble Perſon with whom he is of *Council*, I dare ſay without being *retained*, did not *change* his *Mind*, though it ſeems he did a little *alter* his *Conduct*; which is expreſſed by the *trite* Phraſe of *being carried away with the Torrent*; that is, I preſume, he had at that Time, much the ſame Hopes of Succeſs as the reſt; and I am the rather of his Opinion, becauſe I very well remember, that about the Beginning of that Campaign, a certain Miniſter was very *diligent* and *alert*, and thoſe who pretended to *know* him *very well* made no Secret of this; but, on the contrary, ſpoke in very high Terms of his Activity and Application, to which they attributed, as indeed it was *very natural* for them to do, that *Forwardneſs* in which Things were *ſuppoſed to be*, and the fair Proſpect from thence afforded. When I make this Obſervation, it is not with any View of *recriminating*, or of inſinuating the leaſt *Inconſiſtency* in that noble Perſon's *Conduct*; ſo far from it, that I concur entirely with his *true Friends* on that Head, and only mention it to ſhew

that he did what was *right* and *becoming* his *Station* while in *Office*. It was highly laudable then, was *thought ſo* at the Time, and ought certainly to be conſidered in the *ſame Light* now.

But the unexpected *Turn* that Affairs took *Abroad*, had, as uſual, a very ſtrong Operation upon *ſome* Peoples Sentiments *at Home*, in ſo much, that they immediately forgot the whole *Tenor* of their former *Behaviour*, the *Language* they had held, and the *Meaſures* they had propoſed to Perſons of the *higheſt Rank*, and giving Way to that ſtrong Propenſity with which they were *ſeized* for coming at *Peace*, they ſpoke of it upon all Occaſions, and in all Places, not only as a Thing *deſireable* and *neceſſary*, but deſireable and neceſſary *at any Rate*, and which was not to be refuſed, let it come how, or when, or from *what Quarter* it would. This Diſpoſition is avowed, juſtified and applauded by the *Writer* of this *Pamphlet*, who makes no Scruple to ſet up this *indiſcriminate* Affection for *Peace*, as the *Standard* for *Political Rectitude*. I have inſiſted the larger, and dwelt the more fully upon *this*, becauſe I have a firm Perſuaſion, that the Time *will come*, and

perhaps

perhaps is not *far off*, when this very Writer and his Friends will incline to *change* Sentiments with *other Folks* again, and attribute to them, this outragious *Fondneſs* for *Peace*, and for *any Peace*, which at preſent he is content ſhould be looked upon as the *Reverſe* of the Miniſter's Sentiments. I have before hinted, that the *Tables* have been *turned* already, with reſpect to *Complaiſance* for Martial Operations, and that theſe, for private Purpoſes, have been boldly aſcribed to *one* Noble Perſon, at a Seaſon when they were actually *put* in *Practice* by another. But I hope, if ever this ſhould happen again, you will remember what I have ſaid, and put your Friends in Mind when ever a *Peace* is *made*, that it was not made before ſuch as take themſelves to be the *greateſt Patriots*, thought the Perſons in the Adminiſtration deſerved the *heavieſt Cenſure* for not making it *ſooner*, and for not making it *at all Events*, and upon *any Terms*.

After taking Notice of the *Syſtems* which this *Writer*, aſcribes to thoſe he *accuſes*, and thoſe he *applauds*, let us go on with his Hiſtorical Narratives, in conſequence of very ſingular Intilligence, which

which I believe never reached the *Hands* of any *other* Perſon but himſelf. He is for transferring by dint of this ſecret Intelligence, the *Miſcarriages* Abroad upon the *Miniſters* at Home. They are to be made accountable for the wrong Situation of *Magazines*, their being ſlenderly provided, and all the Difficulties that were entailed upon our Armies, from thence. This upon the Face of it, is both a *groundleſs* and a *malicious* Charge, as will appear from a parallel Caſe that has lately happened in *Italy*; where after ſeveral *Contracts* made, and *large Sums* of *Money* iſſued for the furniſhing Magazines, the Contractors in the Dutchy of *Milan* are ſaid to be eclipſed, and according to this Author's Rule of Reaſoning, the *Fault* ought to be charged upon the *Miniſters* at *Vienna*. But certainly this would be equally extravagant and unjuſt; for in Caſes of this Nature, tho' the *Diſappointment* which is Misfortune enough, cannot but affect the *Miniſters* at Home, yet the *Blame* ought not to lye at *their Doors*, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have the Means of underſtanding theſe Things, any more than they have the *Direction* or *Management* of them.

But Miniſters are the *Scape Goats*, upon whom all Errors, all Overſights, all Miſcarriages are to be charged. No *Merit* is to be derived to them from the *great Turn* in *Holland*, by which his Serene Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* was raiſed to the *Stadtholderſhip*. On the contrary, it was owing to their *want* of *Abilities*, that this important Incident had not *greater Effects*. If the Action at *Val* had not happened, if it had proved fortunate to the *Allies*, or if a right Uſe had been made of our Misfortune, in all theſe Caſes, that *Campaign* had been the laſt of the War, if our Miniſtry had not *wanted* Abilities. What ſtrange, what wild, what idle Stuff is this? Or what does talking of ſuch Stuff ſignify, but to ſhew an *obſtinate* and *determined* Purpoſe, neither to allow the *preſent* Miniſters to be *right* in any thing, or ever to admit either *Errors* or *Misfortunes* in any *but* the *Miniſters*. It the ſame thing, it ſeems, with reſpect to them, whether Things Abroad, go *well* or *ill*; whether *Battles* are *fought* or *not* fought; whether *won* or *loſt*; whether *ſucceſsful* or *unſucceſsful*, a *Peace* on a ſolid and laſting *Baſis* might be had, if our Miniſters had but *Abilities*, or which perhaps would do the Buſineſs full as well, if thoſe who are

bleſſed

bleſſed with ſuch *mighty Abilities*, and have given ſuch amazing Teſtimonies of their *Abilities*, were in *full Poſſeſſion* of the *Miniſtry*. This is Senſe, this is Reaſoning, this is Political Demonſtration, and he who does not *believe* that the *preſent Miniſters* might have made as *good* a *Peace* after the Battle of *Val* was loſt, as before, nay as *good* a *Peace* as if it had been *won*, is either an *incorrigible Blockhead*, or a *driveling Dependant* upon theſe Miniſters *without Abilities*.

Now follows a very unuſual Thing; a very high *Panegyrick* on a *General*, for having the *Misfortune* to be taken *Priſoner*, and the *good Fortune* of being the *Bearer* of a *Meſſage*, ay, and that a moſt gracious Meſſage too, from the *French King*. That mild and unambitious Prince has the Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion to wonder, that the —— of *G——t B——n* is not *weary* of having all the *Burthen* upon his Shoulders, of *Fighting*, as well as *Expence*, for in the Battle, it ſeems *no Body acted* but his M—— R——l and Electoral Subjects. Upon this, a Propoſition is made of declaring *Peace* at the *Head* of the *Armies*, and the Terms are very pompouſly ſtated on *his* Side, and on

ours,

ours. But ſuch, it ſeems, was the incorrigible Temper of our *Miniſters*, that they were not ſatisfied even with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's *Word*; they did not lay hold of this favourable Minute, or *pin* their *Faith*, and what was infinitely of greater Concern, the *Safety* of their *Country* upon the *Gallic* Conqueror's *Sleeve*. Theſe Miniſters were taken with an unaccountable Qualm about their *Allies*, occaſioned perhaps by remembering what happened at the *Cloſe* of the *laſt* War, when Miniſters did not gain *all* the *Reputation* in the World by making a *precipitate* Peace in *Complaiſance* to the *French* King, and at the *Expence* of their *Allies*. And who knows if our preſent Miniſters had *followed* their *Example*, whether this able Author's *Pen* might not, at this very Inſtant have been employed, inſtead of *writing* an *Apology* for a *certain Reſignation*, in drawing up *Reaſons* for *certain Impeachments* founded upon the *very Meaſures*, under the Name of traiterous and deceitful, that are now repreſented as *honourable* and *ſafe*.

The next *Symptom* of *Infatuation* was, that the Loſs of *Bergen-op-Zoom* made no ſuitable Impreſſion upon *theſe* Miniſters; they

they would not even then *deſpair* of the *Publick*, or ſubmit without more ado to the *Terms* preſcribed by *France*. On the contrary, upon the coming over of a *Nobleman* from *H——d*, who was a *Madman too*, for not being in the *deſponding* Scheme, they entered into *new* Projects for making Head againſt the *common Enemy* abroad, and trying whether it was not poſſible to avoid the *threatning* and *fatal* Neceſſity of having a *Peace* impoſed on them by a Power that had been the Cauſe of ſo *many Miſchiefs*, by beginning the moſt *unjuſt* and *unfounded* War, to which our *Memories* can extend. In concerting theſe Projects, it was found *requiſite*, and I might certainly have uſed a ſtronger Word, to take a Body of *Ruſſian* Auxiliaries into the Service of the *Maritime Powers*, whom this Writer, to ſhew his abundant Zeal for the *common Cauſe*, is pleaſed to ſtigmatize with the infamous Appellation of LUCIFER's *Body Guards*. Such is the *Language*, ſuch the *Gratitude*, ſuch the *Decency* of theſe Writers towards the *Allies* of *Great Britain*, though they have good Manners and Politeneſs enough, when they are talking of the *French* King, when they are magnifying his *Moderation*, and painting out his *Averſion* for *Blood*,

in

in Oppoſition to *another Prince*, whoſe very *Enemies* allow him to be the *Mildeſt* and *moſt Humane*, that perhaps *ever* ſat upon a *Throne*. But in the midſt of this *wild* Attachment to *War*, the Miniſtry were not *altogether* unattentive to Peace, even upon the face of this Writer's Account. But what *ſort* of a Peace was this they *ſought*? Why either a *general One*, in which *all* our *Allies* might be included, or a *ſeparate Peace* with *Spain*, by which that Crown might be delivered from her *Dependance* upon *F*——; and wherein either the Folly or the Fault, the Weakneſs or the Wickedneſs of their Inclination to *either* of *theſe* Expedients lay, none but a Man of his *quick* Sight and *prodigious* Penetration can diſcern.

But behold a new and ſtill heavier Charge than all the reſt. In this very *critical* Conjuncture, and for all the World as if they had *ſent* for him, which from the Bottom of my Heart, I wonder this Writer did not ſay *they did*, comes a *Negociator* from the Court of *M—d* an *Iriſh* Officer in his C—— M—— Service. Well now one would have imagined the Miniſters *had* their *Wiſh*, and that they would have been ready to have

ſigned

ſigned a *Treaty*, by that Time Bregadier *Wall*'s full Power had been read. But again, they were inſatuated, *obſtinate* again, and *inflexible*, and inſtead of liſtening to the modeſt Propoſition of undertaking for a Settlement at the *Expence* of their *Allies*, they were once more at their old Trade of *not treating*, but in Conjunction with *their Allies*; nay, which is hardly credible, they talk of procuring for their Im——l Maj—'s the *Maritime Places* on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*; merely, I ſuppoſe, becauſe *Experience* has ſhewn, that this *grand Dutchy*, in which our Trade gives us ſo near a Concern, can never be ſecure while they are in the Hands of the *Sp——ds*. Upon this, and it is no wonder the *Sp—h* A—t, for as yet I think he cannot be conſidered as a *Miniſter* was a little rough, and talked of his C——k M——'s Regard for *his Allies*; for which, this ingenious Writer *highly commends him*. Indeed it is a little remarkable, that let a Man of any Principles, or any Party, of any Nation, or from any Country, differ with our *poor Miniſters*, and tell them their *own*, and he becomes inſtantly a Favourite with this Writer, and his Friends, and ſtands intitled to all the *fine Words* they can give, even though he ſhould

ſhould be the *profeſt Enemy* of this Nation.

But to be ſerious a little: Is it not ſtrange, Sir, that it ſhould not only become *lawful*, but *laudable*, to talk at this Rate, and to *revile* and *run down* Men for not betraying the *Honour* of their *Country*, and breaking *baſely* with its *Allies?* Have we not already had enough of this *Sort* of *Behaviour?* Have we not more than once *ſmarted* for *ſuch* a Conduct as this Man recommends; and can there be a *Reaſon* on Earth aſſigned for his *recommending* it, except that it is *not purſued*, and therefore it muſt be certainly *right* in his Opinion, as it would be undoubtedly *wrong*, even in his Opinion, if it either had been or ſhould *be purſued*. A *Tory* Member ſaid wittily enough in a certain Place, when a *Whig* of Diſtinction talked to him of ſuch a Peace, *Ay, ay*, Sir, *do it*. *We did it* once, and *now it is* your Turn; *make a* Peace *and be* hanged. There is no doubt that a great many among the *Tories* would *vote* that *ſeriouſly* which this Gentleman ſaid *merrily*; and as for the *Whigs*, I don't ſee how they could avoid it. It was ſome Comfort to the *Engliſh* Nation, that when the Treaty of *Utrecht* was made, it was known to

all the World that it was made by a *Faction*, and againſt the Remonſtrances of many of the moſt *conſiderable Perſons* in, as well as of a *great Part* of the Nation. But ſhould we again *deſert* our *Allies*, and ſhould a Miniſtry formed upon a *Coalition* make ſuch another *ſeparate Peace* as that; it might be juſtly conſidered as a *national* and *indelible* Stain; and when we had once, by ſuch a *Stroke* as this, *ſeparated* ourſelves from all the *reſt* of the *World*, *France* would find it no difficult Matter to make an *End* of us. It is therefore no Wonder, though this Writer makes ſo *great* a Wonder of it, that our Miniſters, in ſpite of all the *Diſappointments* and *Misfortunes* we have met with in *War*, heſitated a little at taking *ſuch* a *Step* as this; a *Step* that might not only have *undone* themſelves, but have alſo for ever *undone* their *Country*.

Another Secret we learn from this extraordinary Perſon, who no doubt would have us think that all he delivers proceeds from the *beſt Authority*, and from the *ſecret* Intelligence he has with thoſe who *have been*, or have a Mind *to be* Miniſters, and from whom, if we may credit him, there is no Secret can be hid; is a *Propoſal* of a yet ſtranger Nature than any

he

he had hitherto mentioned. The Miniſtry had been tried with a *whole Peace* offered by the *French* King, with a *ſeparate* Peace by an *Agent* from *Spain*, and not having accepted of *either* of *theſe*, it was reſolved to puſh them to the utmoſt; and therefore they were deſired to accept *half* a *ſeparate Peace*, that is a *Peace* with *Spain* by Sea and Land, *Italy* only excepted; and if this had gone down, it is very roundly declared, tho' I doubt this Writer had *no Authority* for declaring it, that the *Jars* in the Ca—b—t had ceaſed, and no occaſion had been offered for his *Writing* an *Apology*. The old Infatuation however prevailed, and after taking a little Time to *conſider* of the great Advantages that might have ariſen from this *Piece* of a *Peace*, that too was rejected upon the old ſtale Pretence of the *Point* of *Honour* forſooth, and that it was not conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Crown of *G—— B——n*, to conclude even *Part of a Peace* without conſulting its *Allies*. By this it appears, provided always we yield implicit Belief to the *Apologiſt's* Aſſertion, that Things were *purſued* to the *utmoſt*, and that no Method was left untried, either on the Part of the *French* and *Spaniards* Abroad, or the *true* Friends of *Peace*; I had like to have ſaid

Friends of the *F—h* and *Sp—ds at Home*, to draw the Miniſters into *ſome thing* of this Kind, tho' it had been ever ſo *partial* or *imperfect*. But they were obſtinate, downright obſtinate, they would do nothing of this Kind, notwithſtanding they expreſſed ſuch a *Deſire* of *Peace*, and there was nothing left in the *Judgment* of this *Writer* but a R—nat—on, and thereupon an *Appeal* to the *People* by Way of *Apology*.

There is no doubt that this Gentleman looks upon this *laſt* as a *killing Stroke*, againſt which *no* Defence can be *made*, and yet, Sir, give me leave to put you in Mind, that when ſomething of the *ſame Kind* was attempted, tho' in another and more *regular* Way, it met with *Diſapprobation* from an *Aſ——bly*, to which I hope the preſent, and all future Miniſters in *G—— B——n* will always have *Attention*. You will eaſily perceive that I mean the Endeavours uſed not a long Time ago to open a *Trade* with *Spain*, which after long and mature Deliberation was ſo unlucky as not to meet with Par——y Sanction. I muſt alſo put you in Mind, that ſome who were thought the *beſt Judges* of this Point, I mean the Advantage that would have accrued to the *Nation*,

Nation, by the opening ſuch a Trade, which is the principal Argument offered by this Writer in favour of the *half Peace* before mentioned, were clearly of Opinion that it ought not to be admitted, and that how much ſoever it might turn to the Benefit of *particular Perſons*, it would not upon the Whole, have proved either honourable or profitable to the *Subjects* of this *Nation* in general. Now if we ſhould ſuppoſe that this in the *preſent Caſe* might have *great Weight* with the Miniſters; I cannot think you will conſider them as ſo *utterly inexcuſable* as this Man would make them. But it was his Buſineſs to keep every *Argument* of this Nature out of Sight, that the Repugnance of the Miniſtry to *Peace*, might ſtrike his Reader more ſtrongly, and might induce them to believe, what at the ſame Time he does not care they ſhould *fully believe*, that they choſe rather to run *all* the *Hazards* of an *honourable* War, than to avoid them by running the ſtill *greater Hazards* of an *unſafe* and *inglorious* Peace, the making of which, it is evident, they were to take upon *themſelves*, and then the expoſing the Folly, the Madneſs, the Timidity, the Iniquity, and the Treachery of ſuch a Proceeding, would have been *left* to exerciſe the *Pens* of this *Gentleman* and his Aſſo-

ciates, who no doubt, would have written very *copiouſly*, as well as *virulently*, upon ſo *proper* a *Subject*.

As this *Story*, tho' it reſts ſolely upon *his* Credit, may poſſibly appear to you as from *Converſation*, I find already it appears to *many* People, none of the *leaſt* important Paſſages in his Book; and as you may not at firſt Sight, perhaps, diſcern how far our *Allies* might have been affected, by our *accepting* ſuch a Propoſition, when notwithſtanding our Acceptance we had been left at liberty to ſupport them in the *Defence* of *Italy*; I ſhall tell you very freely my own Thoughts upon that Head; but firſt, you will give me leave to *quote* a very ſingular and lively Paſſage from this *Writer*, and indeed, I think the *beſt* in his whole Piece, in which he very whimſically attempts to demonſtrate, that it would not only have been *our* Intereſt to have cloſed with this *Propoſition*, and rather than *none* to have taken up with *half a* Peace, but that it would really have been alſo the Intereſt of *our Allies*, and conſequently preferring the *Spirit* to the *Letter* of our *Alliance*; we ought, and they muſt have thanked us for it, ſhown our *Regard* to our *Allies*, by deſerting our *Allies*. This Paradox

of

of all Paradoxes can never be ſo well expreſſed as in his own Words, which are theſe:

" Now it is difficult to conceive how " the Intereſt of the Allies could be af- " fected by our Acceptance of the laſt of " theſe Propoſals: On the contrary, as " every Link of the Chain which held " them together, ſeemed to be forged of " *Engliſh* Gold, every Meaſure which had " a Tendency to enable *England* to keep " it annually in Repair, ought to have " been eſteemed a common Meaſure, be- " cauſe manifeſtly conducive to the com- " mon Intereſt."

Now, Sir, you are to obſerve, that *this* Propoſition came to us from *Spain*, and you will remember, that this was not the *firſt* Time, that either *this*, or ſomewhat of this *Sort*, was offered us from the ſame Quarter. But it has been long believed that the *Spaniards* are a very prudent and ſenſible People, and not the *dulleſt* Folks in the World in their *Politicks*. We may therefore be pretty ſure that they did not *make* or *repeat* this Offer out of pure Generoſity, or ſtark Love and Kindneſs to *us* after what has *paſſed* in the Courſe of the *preſent War*; and therefore to form

a right Notion of this Matter we ſhould enquire, at leaſt as far as we can, what *Advantage* the *Spaniards* themſelves might reap, by the concluding with us ſuch an Agreement: For if this was to put them in a much *better* Condition than they were *before*; if it was to enable them to oppreſs and overwhelm our *Allies*, notwithſtanding *any* Aſſiſtance we might be able to give them in virtue of the *Reſtriction* with Regard to *Italy*, then all our Author's quaint Reaſoning is out of the Caſe, and it could not be either *our* Intereſt, or the *Intereſt* of our *Allies*, that we ſhould *accept* this Propoſition, even though it might have proved the Means of reſtoring a *beneficial Trade*, and conſequently have *furniſhed* us with *Money*, which might enable us the *better* to *ſupply* them.

The *Advantages*, as I apprehend, or at leaſt the *principal* Advantages that *Spain* would have gained from this Mixture of *War* and *Peace*, would have been the Means of becoming abſolutely *victorious* in the *former*, by *Dint* of the *latter*. It is very well known, and the *Spaniſh* Gazettes were full of it in their Relations of the *Earthquake* at *Lima*, that the Crown of *Spain* has an *immenſe Treaſure* locked

locked up in the *Weſt-Indies*. Locked up, I ſay, in the *Weſt-Indies*, and locked up there by *us*; but by concluding ſuch a *Half Peace* as this, we ſhould have put the *Key* into *her* Hands; this immenſe Treaſure would have been immediately *tranſported* from *thence* to *Spain*, and would have iſſued again out of that Kingdom into *Italy*, in the Shape of *Horſe*, *Foot*, and *Dragoons*, with ample *Trains* of *Artillery*, and all the other *Implements* of *War*. In this Caſe we muſt either have *abandoned* our Allies, which would have been a *little hard*, conſidering they have never *abandoned us*, or we muſt have been at a much *higher* Expence than we are at *even now*, and which is *one* of our Author's *chief* Topicks of Complaint, in order to maintain and ſupport them. Our Miniſters, who took *Time* to conſider of this Offer, could not poſſibly miſs ſo very *obvious* an Obſervation; and if they did *not* miſs it, we need not be much at a Loſs to account for their *Diſlike* of this *Propoſal*.

Beſides all this, our *Half Peace* would have been but a *Half Peace* with *Spain*, and our War with *France* would have remained in *ſtatu quo*: And there are ſome who take themſelves to be *no great Politicians*

ticians, that are very ſenſible the bringing home ſo *vaſt* a *Maſs* of *Spaniſh* Treaſure, would have been a moſt acceptable Thing to *France* too, and might have enabled her to carry *certain* Projects, ſhe has at preſent upon the *Carpet*, into Execution *ſooner*, and with *greater Facility*, than under her preſent Circumſtances they are *like* to be brought *about*; ſo that this might have been *another* Motive to the Miniſters to be very tender of meddling with this *Trojan* Horſe, which, for all its *innocent Appearance*, might carry *whole Armies* in its *Belly*. This Writer and his Friends may treat our *Miniſters* and their *Abilities* with what Contempt they pleaſe, but I very much doubt whether in any other Nation than this, their *rejecting* ſuch a *Propoſal* would have drawn any *Diſcredit* upon their *Abilities*, neither am I in the leaſt doubtful, that if they were to be *heard* for *themſelves*, or *any* who had their Inſtructions were to be heard *for them*, they would find it all difficult to *defend* themſelves againſt *this*, or perhaps againſt every other *Imputation*. But, Sir, great Miniſters have ſomething elſe *to do* than to write *Vindications*, or direct them *to be wrote*, whatever may be the Caſe of *other* great Men, who are *more at Leiſure*; and whenever they are called

called upon to explain and juſtify their Conduct, it will be from *better* Motives, and upon *Heads* of *Accuſation* more *credibly* atteſted, than any that are ſuggeſted by the *Writer* of this *Pamphlet*, how much ſoever he may be a *Maſter* of his *Trade*.

The Heat and Violence which is every where ſhewn in this political Collection of *Scandal*, or rather Collection of *political Scandal*, and the Eagerneſs of its Author to repreſent every Thing as wild, impracticable and ſenſeleſs that has been either *propoſed* or *approved* by the Miniſters, againſt whom his *Invective* was pointed, will, I dare ſay, do him no great Service, even with the ordinary *Run* of his *Reader*, tho' they are very far from being proper Judges of ſuch Matters. His diſtorted Repreſentation of the *Project* againſt *Canada*, is ſo viſibly the Effects of Malice and Reſentment, that it will *refute itſelf*, and perhaps leave ſome People inclined to wiſh that *theſe Miniſters* had been leſs croſſed and contradicted in their Meaſures. Nor will it paſs for an unanſwerable Reaſon againſt this Expedition that it was *utterly inconſiſtent* with the *Baſis* of the *Coalition*. For this ſeems to be an *odd* Inſinuation, that *one* Part of the *Coalition*, and

and that *not* the *miniſterial Part* of it, was averſe to our *exerting* our *naval Force*, and conſequently deaf to the *Voice* of the *People*, that the *War* ſhould be carried on *by Sea*. His Account of the *Expedition* to *Britany*, is to the full as unſatisfactory; and all we can gather from it is, that our Miniſters, when they found it impoſſible to bring their *firſt* Scheme to *bear*, unwilling that all the *Expence* the Nation had been put to ſhould be intirely *thrown away*, reſolved upon this the *laſt* and *only* Effort, at that Time in their *Power*. One can ſee nothing *dark* or *criminal* in this, but rather a *warm* and *honeſt* Intention to do the *utmoſt* they could for their Country's Benefit; and as for the Time *loſt*, the *Change* of Orders, and other *diſcouraging* Circumſtances, our Author has let us more into the *Secret* of them, than perhaps he is *aware*, or than ſome People may thank him for; this *Expedition* too, might be conſtrued into a *Breach* of the *fundamental Treaty* of *Coalition*, and thoſe who did *not care* it ſhould be *undertaken*, are of all other, the moſt likely to have *contrived*, or at leaſt to have *contributed* to its *Diſappointment*; and while ſuch Deſigns are *on foot* at *Home*, it will be a *Miracle* indeed, if we had any *great Succeſs* Abroad.

Abun-

Abundance of other Paſſages there are that lie ſcattered through this *malecontent Miſcellany*, that might deſerve *Animadverſion*, ſuch as the unprovoked Outrage on a *noble Perſon*'s Character, who is at preſent *intruſted* with a *Negotion* of the *higheſt Conſequence* to the *Nation*; and the very *Nature* of which, one would have thought *independent* of all other Conſiderations, though of *theſe* are not a *few*, might have protected him from *ſuch Uſage*, more eſpecially at this critical Juncture, when it cannot poſſibly do him *any Prejudice* without *hurting* his *Country* much more at the ſame Time. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the *ſcandalous* Inſinuation, that a great Part of the *Army* of the *Allies*, and the City of *Maeſtricht*, were preſerved from falling into the Hands of the *French*, the very Evening of the Day on which was fought the Battle of *Val*, by the Briskneſs of General *Ligonier*'s Charge upon the *French Cavalry*, an Action that can never be too much commended; but which, if the beſt Accounts of that Battle may be depended upon, happened *pretty early* in the Fight, and therefore could be attended with no ſuch Conſequences. The ſtrong Prejudice this Writer expreſſes againſt his *S—di—n* M——y, and the *falſe* Colours

which

which in many Reſpects he has given to his *Conduct*, are Inſults of ſo ſhocking a Nature, that one would imagine there are *ſome* People in the World, who, provided they might ſee the *preſent Miniſters* without *Friends*, would not be diſpleaſed if the *Nation* was *left* without *an Ally*. What Views, or what Principles, ſuch Men can act from, it is not poſſible to divine, unleſs they are deſirous of ſeeing *every thing* thrown into the utmoſt *Confuſion*, from their Deſpair of ſucceeding while any *regular Eſtabliſhment* ſubſiſts. But all this relates wholly to the *Writer* of the *Pamphlet*, and to ſuch as write *like him*, for I carefully diſtinguiſh between *him* and the *Perſon* in whoſe Cauſe he pretends to *draw* his *Pen*, and who without doubt looks upon Attempts of this kind with the utmoſt *Contempt* and *Deteſtation*.

Thus, Sir, you have had my *free* Thoughts, and moſt *ſincere* Sentiments upon this extraordinary Performance. Extraordinary indeed, and that in very many Reſpects, in its Boldneſs, in its Diſingenuity, in the Liberties taken therein, not with the greateſt Characters only, for that were a ſmall Fault, but with Characters that are, or ought to be the moſt

ſacred.

ſacred. Extraordinary, if we conſider it in the Light its *Title* places it, as an *Apology* for a noble Perſon's *Reſignation*; extraordinary, if we look into its *real* Deſign, as a *violent Attack* upon the *preſent Miniſtry*; and not leſs extraordinary, with reſpect to the many *Anecdotes* it contains; ſome falſe, ſome true, ſome forged, ſome feigned, but all of them calculated to ſerve *certain Purpoſes* which the Author durſt not *avow*, and which he was in hopes *moſt* of his *Readers* would not *diſcover*. Theſe, I think, I have ſet before you in their *true Light*, and with a Degree of *Evidence* that muſt convince you they ought to be viewed in *no other*. I ſhall therefore detain you no longer than till I draw a few general *Inferences* from this *virulent* Treatiſe, which I flatter myſelf will bring you to have a right Notion of the *Miniſters* whom this Writer would *defame*, of the *Meaſures* they purſue, and of the *Conſequences* that may be *expected* from them.

My firſt Obſervation is, that from the very Entrance to the laſt Page of his Book, this Writer derides and abuſes certain *great* Men for not having any *fixed* or *determined* Syſtem. According to his Account of the Matter, they have been

ſometimes

ſometimes inclined to *War*, but oftner and more warmly diſpoſed to *Peace*; yet not inflexible, or obſtinate to either, which he aſcribes to a *Fickleneſs* of Mind, a kind of natural *Timidity*, and Want of *Steadineſs* in Temper. It is very ſtrange that he did not ſee that the *Variation* of Councils is a thing incident to the *State* of our *Affairs*, and *inſeparable* from the *Form* of our *Conſtitution*. Abſolute *Plans*, and determined *Schemes* of Action, are the *Deviſes* only of Miniſters in *abſolute* Governments, or of Miniſters who would change *free* Governments into *deſpotic*. A Miniſter who reſolves at all Events to *ſatisfy* his *own* Humour, to gratify his *Ambition*, or to ſatiate his *Avarice*, may, and no doubt will, chalk out the beſt Plan he can for that Purpoſe, and purſue it *obſtinately*, without conſidering *how far* it conſiſts with, or how much it may deviate from the *publick Intereſt*. Or ſuch a Miniſter may take his *Plan* from his *Maſter*, and practiſe *every Art* to carry it into Execution, that he may ſecure the *Reward* he propoſes to himſelf. But he who has the Honour to be *near* the *Helm* in a *free* Government, will never dream of any ſuch poſitive and pertinacious *Purſuits*. He will have nothing in the View but to repreſent *freely*, and ſtate as *fully*

as

as it is poſſible, the *Situation* of their *Affairs* to the *great Council* of the *Nation*, he will content himſelf with *propoſing* cautiouſly, yet candidly, what appears to him to be *right*, but at the ſame time he will be willing to *hear* the Opinion of *others*, and always ready to *ſubmit* his *private* Sentiments to thoſe of the *Publick*, that is, the *Judgment* of their *Repreſentative*; at leaſt this is certainly the *Duty* of a *Britiſh* Miniſter; and he who *dares* to do his *Duty* in this Reſpect, notwithſtanding the Imputations of *Fickleneſs*, *Timidity*, and *Want* of *Steadineſs*, will never be at a Loſs to *juſtify* himſelf to the *Britiſh* Nation.

In the next Place I muſt remark, that *this* Writer has been ſo *ingenuous*, though I doubt *againſt* his Will, to acknowledge that the *great* Men he labours to *expoſe* have, through the whole Courſe of this War, done all that in them lay to promote the *military Operations* both by *Land* and *Sea*. They have laboured from time to time to obtain the *neceſſary Supplies*, without which it was *impoſſible* that thoſe *Operations* ſhould have been *carried on*. They have been *zealous* in *ſupporting* our *Allies*; they have been ready to paſs by *Overſights* and *Neglects*

in *ſome*, and as free to acknowledge the *Firmneſs*, the *Activity* and the *Attention* ſhewn for the *common Cauſe* by *others*. They have not ſuffered themſelves to be *diſcouraged* by *Diſappointments*; they have not *deſpaired* of the *Publick*; they have conſented, when it appeared *neceſſary*, to a *Change* of Meaſures; and, in fine, have left *no* Method *untried* to render the *War*, if it had been poſſible, on *every Side* ſucceſsful. This, by a ſtrange *Malevolence* of Nature, he has converted into a *Charge* againſt them; but, in the *Eye* of every *impartial* Man, it muſt *diſculpate* them from *another*, and much *heavier* Charge that has been brought by *ſome* who *write* on the ſame Side with him, as if they had neglected or miſmanaged the War, and looked upon themſelves as *ſucceſsful*, when the *Views* of their Country were *diſappointed*. It is the Fate of all *falſe* Accuſations, that they *overthrow* themſelves; and it is a Misfortune entailed by *Providence* upon all *falſe Accuſers*, that their *Malice* deprives them of their *Senſes*, and that while they are labouring with all their Might to heap *one Calumny* upon *another*, and to multiply the Number of their *Charges*, they introduce ſo many *Inconſiſtencies*, and run into ſuch a Variety of *Abſurdities*, that whoever

whoever has the Patience to *examine* them, muſt neceſſarily *diſcover* the *Truth*. In the Caſe before us, the Author has made it very *plain*, that *ſo far* as Miniſters are *concerned* in making *War*, the *preſent* Miniſters have made it with *Effect*; and I hope this will be *always remembred*.

My laſt Obſervation, for I would not make *too many*, is in Reference to *Peace*. This Author, throughout the whole of his Performance, very plainly *admits* that it was a *Point* of which the Miniſters never *loſt* Sight; that they ſometimes ſought it one way, ſometimes another; that they were always ready to *liſten* to *any* Propoſitions; and whenever they judged it requiſite or convenient, were as *free* to make them. But the Inference he would draw from this is, that though they were *deſirous* of *Peace*, they knew not *how* to *make* one. Perhaps it might be ſo. But what could be the *Reaſon?* A bad, an unſafe, a ſcandalous *Peace*, or a raſh, a precipitate, or unconſidered *Peace*, might have been made at any Time; and the plain Cauſe therefore, that though they were *ſo deſirous* of *Peace*, they did not clap up the *firſt* that offered, was, becauſe they were afraid of making *ſuch* a *Peace*

as themſelves might be afterwards *aſhamed* of, and their Country have Reaſon to *repent* their *making*. They ſaw the Inconveniences, they regretted the Expences, they deplored the Calamities of the *War*; and for theſe Reaſons they *wiſhed*, and even *ſighed* for *Peace*; but for a *Peace* that would relieve them from thoſe Inconveniences, free them from that Expence, and repair the Calamities that the *War* had occaſioned. If *ſuch* a *Peace* could have been procured, no doubt they had long ago *made it*; and ſince, as this Man confeſſes, they were always ſuch *ſincere Lovers* of *Peace*, any other than he would have judged from their *not* making of it, that no *ſuch* Peace could be *procured*. It is true, that he tells us the *contrary*, that he magnifies the *Modeſty* and *Moderation* of the *French* King, who after *all* his *Victories*, and even in the *midſt* of *Victory* itſelf condeſcended, if you will believe him, to make moſt *reaſonable Propoſitions*. An *Engliſhman* muſt ſure be *driven* very *hard* when he condeſcends to make the Panegyrick of a *French* Prince, in order to throw *Dirt* upon his *Countrymen*. But alas! how *feeble* is the *Effort*, and how eaſily is this *Charge* overthrown? Were the *Propoſitions* he mentions *all* that were made? or in making theſe Propoſitions

poſitions did the *French* Monarch undertake both for *himſelf* and his *Allies?* If not, how *little* is what he has ſaid to the *purpoſe?* The Nation, I believe, will not be able to *collect* from this wonderful *Apology*, how or when, a *good Peace* might have been made; but, this, every Man muſt *ſee*, who has Eyes, and will uſe them, that even according to his Confeſſion, the Miniſtry were always *ſenſible* of the *Burthen* of the *War*, were never blind to the *Bleſſings* of *Peace*, but at the ſame Time were not ſo *weary* of the *Burthen*, as to get rid of it at *any Rate*, or ſo fond of the *Name* of *Peace*, as to *embrace* it, though unattended with its *proper Bleſſings*.

When you have read and reflected on theſe *plain* Deductions from this *angry* Writer's Reaſoning, when you have conſidered and weighed their *propriety* and *Truth*, I make no Queſtion that you'll agree with me, that as in one Senſe it may be conſidered as a *Libel*, ſo in another it may paſs for a *Panegyrick*. What *Friends* ſay may admit of ſome Reſtriction and Abatement, but what an *Enemy* confeſſes we may be ſure does not exceed, tho' poſſibly it may fall ſhort of Fact. If therefore as this Man ſays, theſe Miniſters have been ſo far from *peremtorily* purſuing their *own*

Plan,

as themſelves might be afterwards *aſhamed* of, and their Country have Reaſon to *repent* their *making*. They ſaw the Inconveniences, they regretted the Expences, they deplored the Calamities of the *War*; and for theſe Reaſons they *wiſhed*, and even *ſighed* for *Peace*; but for a *Peace* that would relieve them from thoſe Inconveniences, free them from that Expence, and repair the Calamities that the *War* had occaſioned. If *ſuch* a *Peace* could have been procured, no doubt they had long ago *made it*; and ſince, as this Man confeſſes, they were always ſuch *ſincere Lovers* of *Peace*, any other than he would have judged from their *not* making of it, that no *ſuch* Peace could be *procured*. It is true, that he tells us the *contrary*, that he magnifies the *Modeſty* and *Moderation* of the *French* King, who after *all* his *Victories*, and even in the *midſt* of *Victory* itſelf condeſcended, if you will believe him, to make moſt *reaſonable Propoſitions*. An *Engliſhman* muſt ſure be *driven* very *hard* when he condeſcends to make the Panegyrick of a *French* Prince, in order to throw *Dirt* upon his *Countrymen*. But alas! how *feeble* is the *Effort*, and how eaſily is this *Charge* overthrown? Were the *Propoſitions* he mentions *all* that were made? or in making theſe Propoſitions

poſitions did the *French* Monarch undertake both for *himſelf* and his *Allies?* If not, how *little* is what he has ſaid to the *purpoſe?* The Nation, I believe, will not be able to *collect* from this wonderful *Apology*, how or when, a *good Peace* might have been made; but, this, every Man muſt *ſee*, who has Eyes, and will uſe them, that even according to his Confeſſion, the Miniſtry were always *ſenſible* of the *Burthen* of the *War*, were never blind to the *Bleſſings* of *Peace*, but at the ſame Time were not ſo *weary* of the *Burthen*, as to get rid of it at *any Rate*, or ſo fond of the *Name* of *Peace*, as to *embrace* it, though unattended with its *proper Bleſſings*.

When you have read and reflected on theſe *plain* Deductions from this *angry* Writer's Reaſoning, when you have conſidered and weighed their *propriety* and *Truth*, I make no Queſtion that you'll agree with me, that as in one Senſe it may be conſidered as a *Libel*, ſo in another it may paſs for a *Panegyrick*. What *Friends* ſay may admit of ſome Reſtriction and Abatement, but what an *Enemy* confeſſes we may be ſure does not exceed, tho' poſſibly it may fall ſhort of Fact. If therefore as this Man ſays, theſe Miniſters have been ſo far from *peremtorily* purſuing their *own* Plan,

Plan, or poſitively dictating their *own* Meaſures, that they have been content to *depart* from them frequently, and where the *Reaſon* or *Neceſſity* of the Thing required it, have not diſdained to adopt or follow thoſe of their *greateſt Enemies*, we may be ſure they had not their *own* Glory or *Intereſt* in view, and we may very probably ſuppoſe, ſince no ſtronger Motive can be offered, that they were directed by *thoſe* of their *Country*. If in Conſequence of the *Aſſurances* given by our *Allies*, or the Repreſentation of our own Miniſters, inſtructed to *negotiate* with *our* Allies, they have been forward to *engage* their Country to make repeated Efforts to render the *War* ſucceſsful; this ſurely ſhews that they *ſincerely* meant to make it *ſo*, and that they were in *earneſt* in their *Aſſertions*, for none but *honeſt* Men confide in *Aſſurances* from their *Friends*, or believe the Repreſentations of their *Aſſociates* in Buſineſs. If *Peace* has been their *perpetual Study*, if they might have ſo *often* made *Peace*, and yet have *not* made it, undoubtedly their *Affection* for their Country obliged them to put a *Force* upon their *Inclinations*. Have they carried on a *War* with a *View* to any other than the *Intereſts* of *Great Britain?* He would certainly have told

us

us *ſo*, if he had *believed it*, or thought any body elſe *would* believe it. Was it from a *Neglect* of the *Intereſts* of *Great Britain* that they have *neglected* to make *Peace?* He does not ſo much as *charge* them *with it.* So that after all, this is as *harmleſs* an *Invective*, as it is an *indifferent Apology*, and the Writer has ſucceeded as *ill* in what he *really* meant, as he *intended* to do in what he *pretended* to *mean*, for tho' nobody can doubt his good Will to *aſperſe* thoſe who *remain* at the *Head* of the *Adminiſtration*, yet, I think, there is the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to believe he was very little concerned as to the Conſequence of his *Vindication* of the *noble Perſon*, who has *quitted* the Adminiſtration. In ſhort, a *ſuſpicious Friend*, and a *bitter Enemy*, tho' a bad one, is his true Character.

But how widely ſoever I differ from this egregious Writer in the *Courſe* of his *Work*, I agree with him *entirely* in the *Concluſion.* Thoſe who have *Honour* and *Virtue* for their *Companion*, need be in no *great Pain*, whoever *leaves* them, and provided they have done what was *right*, to the *beſt* of their *Judgments*, in a *conſtitutional* Manner; they have not the leaſt Cauſe to *fear* any *Accuſation* that can be brought againſt them. If, as this Writer himſelf

himſelf ſeems to acknowledge, they were *far* from being averſe to a *Britiſh* War, that is a War calculated to ſerve the *Intereſts* of *Great Britain*, and that tho' they were ſo very deſirous of *Peace*, they would accept of none that might not be truly called a *Britiſh* Peace, that is, *ſafe* with regard to our *Allies*, and *honourable* to *ourſelves*, they have no Reaſon to be aſhamed even of the *Difficulties* they have fallen under by the *Management* of the *War*, or the *delaying* of the *Peace*, for all their *Meaſures*, and eſpecially that of receiving into a *Participation* of *Power*, whoever profeſſed to *mean* as they *did*, upon *theſe* Heads, muſt paſs with all diſintereſted and proper Judges for the cleareſt Proofs that the *Profits* and *Emoluments* of their *Places* were not the ultimate *Ends* of their *Actions*, but that they were truly influenced, I will not ſay, by thoſe captivating Words, but by the *endearing Hopes* of being uſeful in their Station, to the ſupporting *Old England*, and the maintaining, in its utmoſt Vigour, our *happy Conſtitution*. To which, that *every Patriot* may *bend* his *Thoughts*, and every *Miniſter* ſquare his *Actions*, is the Prayer of every *honeſt Man*, as it is the *Dread* of *all* who are *otherwiſe*.

FINIS.